

1/1/73

Dear Gary,

We each have whatever infection is currently popular, restricting what we can do. I had decided this is a good time for removing dead files to make room for active ones. When I came to yours, I was reminded of your long silence.

I suppose the right to say nothing can be interpreted as a kind of exercise of free speech. However, there are some things about which it is not, to use words you have heard before, either ethical or ~~or~~ moral.

There has been close to a year in which you might have returned that of my work you have. There was a time I wanted you to have it. There is no need to repeat the history that strengthens this desire. It is further strengthened by your preference for silence where, in my view, the best that can be said for it is that it is a copout. As I remember it, when I showed you the true meaning of your letter to the Archives you had sent me for an entirely different and obviously false purpose, is the beginning of your silence.

If you have not learned from this one case of Cyril, or the one before it, of Ned (unless you consider them one, as they in part turned out to be), you just won't let yourself learn that your judgement can't be trusted in these things. Your emotions hold it captive. There is no chance of doing good and any chance of doing harm is too much.

So, I am taking time I should not have to to ask you to do what the most simplistic concept of honor, if not self respect, should have required of you with no prompting.

You probably won't see it as I put it, but I think you owe this as much to yourself and your self-concept, now or in the future, as you do to me.

You know me well enough to know this is not an angry letter. You know I once felt toward you as a father. So, as a father would say to a son, I tell you that, if with the passing of all this time and what you should have learned in it and what should have come to mind in thinking about that which is in dispute between us, or rather was, your views are unchanged, in my unscientific opinion you should go back to your therapist.

There is nothing you can do to undo the past. There likewise is nothing I can or will do to get you to return my work. Neither of these figures in my "fatherly" advice. All that does is you. There can be nothing in it for me, if you permit yourself to think a bit. I won't even know, unless you tell me, and I don't want you to.

I look back upon what has happened to so many who could not cope with the frustrations or, with the expenditure of considerable effort, could not accomplish what each sought (which is not identical in all cases). You also can. I want you to do your own thinking about this, again without knowing about it. So, let me give you a few reminders: Garrison, Salandra, Sylvia, Lifton, the Newcombs, the Verb group (one of who recently told me that two of the others probably were agents, one for sure), Steve Burton (if you didn't know him, after the Shaw trial he quit everything, his family, school--the whole world-- just to beat drums on some beach somewhere), Cyril (have you not yet vomited? and if you haven't, ask Howard what he read in my Cyril file, far before all this terrible stuff of which you were part), and Ned, not to tick them all off.

I would rather than no similar thing come to you.

More than three months ago I suggested that you read about the African-American Institute and Katzenbach in The Espionage Establishment. Maybe you did, but I think you'd probably have preferred not to face any possibility. I still am not chiding you for sending Ned here and I tell you quite frankly that without his unusual pressure, Cyril would still have been used by the government, for I knew in advance of Lattimer that he would be, as Howard, who happened to be here, can affirm. with apologies for the LIGHT*EXPOSED paper as for the results of using discarded typewriter ribbons, I enclose herewith the relevant parts of pp. 137 and 139.. I could send you more, like some of its operations, beginning with original funding by American Climax Metal Co., which operated in Africa. and how they devoted themselves to revolutionaries, and so much that exactly parallels Gaudet. I don't because I don't insist this has to apply to Ned, that he doesn't have to be CIA (although if you will also look at the footnote on 140 you will learn that that other great "liberal" Tom Braden brags about having been responsible for all that mess with the foundations). Ned went to Katzenbach over my explicit objection and his agreement, the reason for the second excerpt. I think it is time for you to think, if in silence.

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the thing that I found to be most disgusting and horrible. People were duped into this relationship with the CIA, a relationship from which there was no way out. There has been no physical intimidation, but it seems apparent that under the National Security Act—under the statements these people signed—there would be the probability of prosecution by the government . . . a twenty-year jail sentence to maintain your integrity is a very high price to pay.”*

The NSA disclosures led to a rash of revelations about the CIA's involvement with virtually every important segment of American life—business, labor, government, the churches, the universities, the news media, charitable organizations, book publishers, lawyers, teachers, artists, women's organizations and cultural groups.† Quite aside from the moral issues involved, the CIA had neglected one of the fundamental rules of the spy business: it had failed to keep its operations distinct

* But Lawrence Houston, general counsel for the agency, quickly made it clear in a rare public statement that the CIA had no intention of taking action against any NSA leaders.

† Organizations which received money directly or indirectly included the African American Institute, American Council for International Commission of Jurists, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, American Friends of the Middle East, American Newspaper Guild, American Society of African Culture, Asia Foundation, Association of Hungarian Students in North America, Committee for Self-Determination, Committee of Correspondence, Committee on International Relations, Fund for International Social and Economic Education, Independent Research Service, Institute of International Labor Research, International Development Foundation, International Marketing Institute, National Council of Churches, National Education Association, Paderewski Foundation, Pan American Foundation (University of Miami), Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, Radio Free Europe, Synod of Bishops of the Russian Church Outside Russia, United States Youth Council.

Foreign beneficiaries included African Forum, Africa Report, Berliner Verein, Center of Studies and Documentation (Mexico), Congress for Cultural Freedom, in Paris (which supported the publications *Hwas*, Lebanon; *Forum*, Austria; *Prover*, France; as well as *Encounter*, Britain), Frente Departamental de Campesinos de Puno, Foreign News Service, Inc., Institute of Political Education (Costa Rica), Interamerica Federation of Newspapermen's Organizations, International Federation of Free Journalists, International Journalists, International Student Conference, Public Services International, World Assembly of Youth, World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.

Conduits for CIA money included the Andrew Hamilton Fund, Bescon Fund, Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Borden Trust, Broad-High Foundation, Catherwood Foundation, Chesapeake Foundation, David, Joseph and Winfield Baird Foundation, Dodge Foundation, Edsel Fund, Florence Foundation, Gotham Fund, Heights Fund, Independence Foundation, J. Frederick Brown Foundation, J. M. Kaplan Foundation, Jones-O'Donnell, Kentfield Fund, Littauer Foundation, Marshall Foundation, McGregor Fund, Michigan Fund, Monroe Fund, Norman Fund, Pappas Charitable Trust, Price Fund, Robert E. Smith Fund, San Miguel Fund, Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, Tower Fund, Vernon Fund, Warden Trust, Williford-Telford Fund.

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spread this money around? In other words, what they have been doing with it, as far as I can see, is to finance socialism in America."

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, said "it was a mistake for the CIA ever to entangle itself in covert activities close to the field of education or scholarship or the universities." However, he had "little respect for critics who give themselves airs of moral superiority in attacking an activity they know to be necessary."

Senator Robert F. Kennedy thought it unfair to let the CIA "take the rap." He said the programs had been approved at the highest levels of the government in the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. "If the policy was wrong, it was not the product of the CIA but of each Administration . . . We must not forget that we are not dealing with a dream world, but with a very tough adversary."

At that, President Johnson directed his news secretary, George Christian, to tell the press that he was "totally unaware" of the CIA's links with the National Student Association. To reduce the political pressures, the President ordered an investigation by a three-man group, headed by Undersecretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach and including Gardner and Helms. Katzenbach said, "The President believes strongly that the integrity and independence of the educational community must be preserved. He has directed a careful review of any government activities that may endanger this integrity and independence."

The following week, however, on February 23, the President endorsed a preliminary finding by the Katzenbach group that absolved both the CIA and the Administration. The CIA "did not act on its own initiative," the panel declared, "but in accordance with policies established by the National Security Council in 1952 through 1954. Throughout it acted with the approval of senior interdepartmental review committees, including the Secretaries of State and Defense or their representatives . . . the support provided by the Central Intelligence Agency enabled many far-sighted and courageous Americans to serve their country in times of challenge and danger to the United States and the free world. Furthermore, the Central Intelligence Agency has been, and continues to be, indispensable to the security of this nation. It is vitally important that the current controversy over its support of certain private organizations not be permitted to obscure the